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Intelligence Report

Office of Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Analysis

9 September 1998

Sub-Saharan Africa: Seeking Pragmatic Relations With Rogue States

Libya and are the most active in broadening diplomatic and economic ties. Libya's activities concentrate on Sahelian and West African countries.

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Africans Continuing To Cooperate With Rogue States

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Repayment for Previous Services and Assistance. Some African leaders are indebted to rogue states, particularly Libya, for aiding them when they headed rebel or exile groups.

- Relations with Libya have taken center stage among **South Africa's** dealings with rogue states, in part because of President Mandela's gratitude for Libya's support during the antiapartheid struggle, [REDACTED]
- **Ugandan** President Museveni has longstanding ties to Libyan leader Qadhafi, dating back to Museveni's days as a rebel leader in the mid-1980s [REDACTED]
- **Liberian** President Taylor began receiving arms from Libya in the late 1980s, when he was a faction leader, and the ties continue, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Economic Development and Trade. Most African leaders are willing to deal with almost any country or group willing to provide aid and advantageous trade terms, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- ***With Libya.*** **Chad, Mali, Niger, and The Gambia** currently seek and receive aid, credit, and jobs for tens of thousands of workers in Libya, [REDACTED] **South Africa** appears to be cultivating Tripoli as a market for South African retail goods and capital equipment. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Building Political Solidarity. Sovereignty concerns and Third World solidarity figure in the decisionmaking of African leaders, especially in multinational forums. They also are aware that it is in their interest to remain on reasonably good terms with rogue states that could fund opposition groups [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Some cooperation may be an attempt to stave off rogue support for exile or insurgent groups.

- **Chad, Mali, and Niger** appear to have agreed to the new Libyan Sahara-Sahel bloc formed in February largely to avoid alienating Libya. Tripoli continues to provide military and financial support to ethnic Tuareg and Toubou dissidents [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] These countries—along with **The Gambia**—also fear renewed expulsions of their guest workers in Libya, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

- [REDACTED]
- African countries often support rogue states in international forums. In the United Nations, Africans have supported several issues important to rogue states, including opposing condemnation of human rights abuses in Iran, Iraq, and Cuba; calling on the United States to end its

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embargo on Cuba; and calling on developed countries to ease economic sanctions on developing countries, including Iran, Iraq, and Libya.

- The Organization of African Unity (OAU) in June adapted a resolution taking exception to the UN-mandated sanctions against Libya, calling for a suspension until the International Court of Justice rules. []

Leveraging the Relations. Public pronouncements and private comments by Sub-Saharan African officials suggest they calculate that dealing with some rogue states—particularly Libya and []—allows them to extract more assistance from the rogues' antagonists. Moderate Middle Eastern countries and Islamic nongovernmental organizations often vie to provide Islamic education and development aid to Muslim populations in Africa to counter the efforts of Iran and Sudan. African leaders repeatedly have told diplomats and visiting officials of donor governments that they deal with the rogue states for economic development when Western or other aid is unavailable or insufficient.

- **Malawi** early this year publicly announced the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Libya because Western donors are not meeting its development needs. **The Gambia** and **Chad** also have played the Libya card in hopes of spurring donors and international financial institutions to ease conditionalities and to provide financial assistance. All three have received some Libyan aid but no additional Western aid.
- **Sierra Leonean** President Kabbah traveled to Iran in 1996 []
[] After
little appreciable aid from Tehran, he has recently turned to Libya,
despite Libyan support for the insurgent Revolutionary United Front.
[]

Most Rogue States Have a Continuing Interest in Africa []

Rogue states differ widely in their agendas and approaches toward Africa, but they appear willing to capitalize on the needs and, in some cases, greed of African governments []. The need for economic and social infrastructure, investment, and loans and grants by many Sub-Saharan African countries presents rogue states with opportunities to serve as allies, military suppliers, and economic partners. The scope and depth of [] and Libya's activities make them highly visible in Africa.

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Effect of Sanctions

International sanctions have complicated rogue state activity in Africa.

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UN sanctions against Libya have diverted Tripoli's efforts and forced it to concentrate diplomatic and policy resources on trying to lift sanctions.

Western sanctions and conditions on aid, however, have helped push African leaders into greater cooperation with the rogue states.

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- Niger, Nigeria, and The Gambia have lost most Western economic and military aid after their regimes took power by force. They have long lasting ties to Libya and some increase with Iran.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Libya. Libya has increased its efforts to broaden its ties to Sub-Saharan Africa over the past three years in order to reduce or eliminate UN sanctions—imposed on Libya in 1992 in the aftermath of the Pan Am 103 and UTA 772 bombings—and to end its diplomatic isolation. Libya has used monetary payments, aid, and military assistance

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programs to convince its African interlocutors, [redacted]
[redacted] Libya's permanent representative to the United Nations, Abuzed Dorda, has also aggressively pursued contacts with African countries there since he began his tenure in early 1997. [redacted]

[redacted] These efforts to weaken African support for UN sanctions have achieved success on several fronts.

- The OAU in June adopted a resolution authorizing flights to Libya for humanitarian, religious, and OAU-related reasons in contravention of current UN sanctions. The nonbinding resolution also encourages the United Nations to suspend sanctions until the International Court of Justice rules on them.
- Expanding ties to South Africa provided benefits to Libya when South Mandela visited Libya in October 1997 and publicly called for lifting UN sanctions.
- Qadhafi undoubtedly views the formation of the Sahara-Sahel bloc as another positive development in his efforts to garner support and influence in the region. [redacted]

Libya's other longstanding, but secondary, objectives in the region are to promote its regional leadership and to check French and US influence while bolstering its own. The formation of the Libyan-sponsored Sahara-Sahel organization this year indicates regional deference to Tripoli's role. Libya also has successfully expanded diplomatic ties to several African countries.

- Kenya, Malawi, and Eritrea earlier this year agreed to establish diplomatic relations with Libya.
- Dakar agreed to allow a Libyan People's Bureau to reopen this year.
- [redacted]

Tripoli's attempts to improve and expand ties to African countries may be, in part, to help Libya's external intelligence agency monitor Libyan dissident activity in Sub-Saharan countries. African leaders' lingering distrust of Qadhafi's motives will hamper Libya's efforts to expand its influence. His failure to follow through on past pledges of financial or military support has cost him good will and has reinforced perceptions among skeptical Sub-Saharan leaders that he is untrustworthy.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Opportunities for Influencing Africans' Policy Choices

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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